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COUNTRY Poland

SUBJECT PPR Objectives and Activities

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General Objectives

1. PPR's general aims are to:

- (a) Introduce the Communist system into every phase of Polish life.
- (b) Convert the people to a more positive attitude toward PPR and its reconstruction program.
- (c) Create a friendlier popular attitude toward the Soviets.

2. These objectives are cited and discussed in the following quotations from PPR instructions distributed to various echelons of its membership:

- (a) "We are still in a period of transition. Our Party aims will continue to be the abolishment of anti-Soviet ideas and every capitalistic form of life. By gradual and systematic infiltration of our new doctrine into every phase of human relations, the capitalistic system will soon be completely eradicated even though eradication is contrary to national will.
- (b) "PPR represents a democracy which, thanks to an eager, active, and well-informed minority, inspires other parties and the entire nation and is building the foundations for a new socialistic republic, based on the Marxist doctrine.
- (c) "Until the time of the parliamentary elections our main objective was to build a democratic bloc. Only a democratic bloc could successfully oppose a united reactionary front. In spite of difficulties our party has been quite successful. While we were building this democratic bloc we pledged ourselves to a decisive, uncompromising fight against Polish reactionary elements. Our Central Committee is mobilizing now to create a unified workers' front by merging PPR and PPS into one party representing all classes of Polish workers."

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Aims with Regard to PPS

3. The problem of merging PPR and PPS has been the main topic discussed recently by "Mediation Committees." Although the merger was decided upon by leaders of both parties, PPS members violently oppose it. One of the PPR secretaries also stated that "the PPR-PPS merger looks very fine on paper if one reads an article in the Workers Tribune or Glos Ludu (People's Voice), but when anyone mentions the merger in a Committee meeting such an uproar ensues that the meeting can hardly be concluded." Frequent fights occur between PPR and PPS members at joint party meetings.
4. The Central Committee of PPR (KC PPR) suspects co-operation between MCM and WIN and therefore aims to purge PPS of all MCM elements before absorbing it. A KC PPR publication states: "The PPS is being confused by the infiltration of reactionary elements whose doctrines differ from the democratic principles of our sister party. This infiltration can be stopped only by the formation of a perfectly united organization of all workers' groups."
5. The PPS, with the fate of PSL as an object lesson, knows what to expect from the PPR. Recent PPR declarations accusing PPS of harboring reactionaries have warned PPS members of impending arrest. A few members still criticize the PPR openly, but this courageous group will undoubtedly dwindle as the Secret Police continue their close observation of all groups known to be predominantly PPS. In Rzeszow, for example, where PPS appears to be increasing in strength at the expense of PPR, Deputy Chief Beben of the local Secret Police attends all meetings of PPS leaders.

Exploitation of Trade Unions

6. KC PPR instructions dealing with the Trade Unions state: "One of the most important tasks facing our various party units is the consolidation of our strength in the Trade Unions. In the coming Trade Union elections we must:
 - (a) Emphasize the danger from reactionaries who camouflage themselves as non-partisan members.
 - (b) Insure the nomination of the most popular of our own candidates.
 - (c) Expose robbers, wranglers, etc., in the Unions by denunciation even at public meetings. "

PPR and the Church

7. The PPR makes an official pretense of supporting the Church but actually regards it as a useless institution in a proletarian state and believes that the clergy are parasites. Because of this subterfuge, PPR's fight against the Church is currently an undercover one in which Church activities are secretly and subtly obstructed. An example of this method is a recent incident in Gniezno when ceremonies at St. Wojciech were scheduled for broadcast to the nation. During the night preceding the ceremonies, "unknown persons" destroyed all the broadcasting equipment and the chief engineer in charge of the installations "disappeared." When another technician was secured, he and his helpers were arrested by the citizen's militia. Still another technician was finally brought from Poznan but was unable to complete repairs on the installations before the ceremonies ended.
8. On 9 Jun 47 a Corpus Christi procession was held in Kladzko. As the date of the procession coincided with Cardinal Griffin's visit to Poland, Polish officials were anxious to impress the Cardinal with the friendly relations existing between Church and State by avoiding a repetition of the obstructionist tactics which had marred a similar procession in 1946.

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after the Cardinal left Poland, however, six priests in Wrocław were arrested by the Secret Police for having "dared to tell the British dignitary about conditions in Poland." The priests were taken into custody at night. Their fate or present whereabouts has not been established.

PPR Recruiting and Training

9. The KC PPR recruits new party members on the basis of two distinct sets of standards.
 - (a) Candidates for municipal or state positions are required to fulfill conscientiously and meticulously their roles of small cogs in a large machine. They are, according to the KC PPR, "expected to build, slowly and patiently, the foundations of our system. They must forget their own personalities and feelings."
 - (b) Party employees must
 - (1) be able and willing to impose their will on the masses without regard to moral or legal considerations,
 - (2) fully understand party objectives,
 - (3) be able to argue convincingly,
 - (4) have confidence in PPR leadership and the ultimate victory of Communism throughout the world.
10. KC PPR instructions regarding the acceptance of new members recommend the following:
 - (a) Termination of mass recruitment except in special cases in territories where the Party's influence is not well established. In such instances prior consent must be obtained from the local PPR Committee.
 - (b) Dismissal of unsuitable members.
 - (c) Acceptance by field offices of only those volunteers who can produce two references. This practice will assure the acquisition of genuine followers who are attracted solely by party aims and activities.
 - (d) Introduction of a six months probationary period for party inductees.
11. The PPR requires of its members an almost religious devotion to party doctrines and objectives. An official PPR publication states: "The Party program, particularly its economic phase, should be a Bible for PPR members, inciting them to greater effort."
12. The KC PPR considers ideological training of members highly important and requires all members to subscribe to one of the two Party weeklies: Trybuna Wolności (Forum of Freedom) and Chłopskie Drogi (Peasant Roads). Further regulation of reading matter is effected through party cell organization. Each cell has a "self-educational" unit composed of 10 members who control the cell members' choice of reading material. The study of Poland's history and economic system is emphasized as is the application of Marxist theories to current and future Polish problems.

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13. Through the medium of its educational facilities, each large Party organization is expected to train one capable political agent out of every hundred members enlisted. The agent, upon completion of his schooling, must be an able administrator and be qualified to lecture on political and economic subjects before large public gatherings.
14. Each smaller Party unit is expected to produce, by similar methods, one agent out of every ten trainees. This agent should be qualified for lower echelon work such as reading and commenting on press articles before small political groups, handling local correspondence, etc.
15. The PPR, in conjunction with the Z.M. (Fighting Youth Movement), is organizing special courses whose graduates are expected to replace reactionary elements in various offices and institutions.

Expenditures for PPR Activities

16. PPR, constituting as it does a state within a state, is spending enormous sums, which are drawn from the State Treasury. The average local PPR Committee spends between 50 thousand and 100 thousand zlotys per month on employees' salaries, maintenance of buildings, etc. Of this amount, one thousand to five thousand zlotys is raised through membership dues; the balance is paid by the District Committee. Every active PPR agent receives a monthly allotment of from 6 thousand to 30 thousand zlotys which comes partly from the district office and partly from the main office in Warsaw.
17. PPR Committees in the Recovered Territories have their own estates which are well-stocked with livestock and are operated for the benefit of PPR secretaries and outstandingly active members.

PPR Comments on Reactionary Strength

18. The PPR's appreciation of reactionary strength is reflected in the following quotations from KC PPR declarations:
 - (a) "Reactionaries are still quite strong. Their camp is composed of clandestine bankers, speculators, owners of non-socialized industrial plants, real estate owners, big buyers, and wealthy farmers. A large part of the small merchant group, some of the more prosperous peasants, and a part of the intelligentsia are also under their influence. Most of the clergy, particularly of the higher ranks, support the reactionary elements. All these reactionary groups actually represent only a small segment of the population but they carry weight because of their importance and economic position. The reactionaries' prospects are enhanced by the fact that many from the working masses still have an ideological attachment for the old regime and dislike changes which seem to bring no immediate improvements. Under favorable circumstances, the reactionaries' chances might increase.
 - (b) "Now that the PSL has been defeated, reactionary elements are looking for a new banner, a new leader who will direct them in continued opposition to our party. Although these incorrigible reactionaries have left the PSL, they have not altered their antagonism toward us; they have merely shifted to a more strategically convenient position.
 - (c) "The January elections forced the imperialistic Anglo-Saxon powers to revise their tactics with regard to democratic Poland. Their decision was signalized by the recall from Warsaw of the British and US ambassadors. The new Anglo-Saxon policy is more cautious than the former one of blatantly supporting reactionary elements in Poland. Having been disappointed with Mikolajczyk, they will now support certain catholic groups and exert pressure on the more flexible elements within the democratic bloc."

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